

*The due Way of composing the differences
on Foot, preserving the Church ;
According to the Opinion of
HERBERT THORNDIKE.*

I Have found my self obliged, by that horrible confusion in Religion, which the late War had introduced, to declare the utmost of mine opinion, concerning the whole point of Religion, upon which the Western Church stands divided into so many parties. And now, finding no cause to repent me of doing it, can find no cause why I should not declare the consequence of it, in settling of that which remains of our differences. For, middle waies to so good an end, are now acceptable, meerly as middle waies, and tending to drive a bargain, without pretending that they ought to bee admitted. How much more an expedient pretending necessity, from reasons extant in publick, and not contradicted ?

The chief ground that I suppose here, because I have proved it at large, is the meaning of that Article of our Creed, which professeth one *Catholick Church*. For, either it signifies nothing, or it signifies, that God hath founded one *Visible Church*; that is, that he hath obliged all Churches, (and all Christians, of whom all Churches consist) to hold visible communion with the *Whole Church*, in the visible offices of Gods publick service. And therefore I am satisfied, that the differences upon which wee are divided, cannot bee justly settled upon any terms, which any part of the *Whole Church* shall have just cause to refuse, as inconsistent with the unity of the *Whole Church*. For, in that case, wee must needs become Schismaticks, by settling our selves upon such Laws, under which any Church may refuse to communicate with us, because it is bound to communicate with the *Whole Church*. True it is, that the foundation of the Church, upon these terms, will presuppose the intire profession of Christianity, whether concerning Faith or Manners. For otherwise, how should those Offices, in which all the Church is to

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municate, bee counted the service of God, according to Christianity? And this profession is the condition, upon the undergoing whereof, all men, by being baptized and made Christians, are also admitted to communion with the Church, as members of it.

But nothing can make it visible to the common reason of all men, what communion they are to resort unto for their Salvation, but the visible Communion of all parts of the Church; which, having been maintained for divers ages of the Church, is now visibly interrupted by the Reformation, and before, by the breach between the Greek and Latin Church. And therefore, though it bee visible to reason rightly informed, what communion a man is to imbrace for his Salvation; yet it is not now visible to the common reason of all men that seek it. If this bee true, then, no power of the Church can extend so far, as to make any thing a part of the common Christianity, which was not so from the beginning; but it must needs extend so far, as to limit and determine all matters in difference, so as the preservation of Unity may require. And therefore, the Unity of all parts supposing the profession of Christianity whole, and entire; we shall justly bee chargeable with the crime of *Hæresie*, if wee admit them to our communion, who openly disclaim the Faith of the whole Church, or any part of it. For, those are justly counted Hæreticks, as to the Church, by the Canons of the Church, that communicate with those who profess Hæresie; though no Hæreticks as to God, not believing it themselves. But the Unity of all parts being subordinate, and of infinite consideration to the Unity of the Whole; wee shall justly bee chargeable with the crime of *Schisme*, if wee seek Unity within our selves, by abrogating the Laws of the Whole, as not obliged to hold communion with it.

I confess I am convicted, that, as things stand, wee are not to expect any reason from the Church of *Rome*, and those who hold communion with it, in restoring the unity of the Church, upon such Laws, as shall render the means of Salvation visible to all that use them as they ought. And this, and only this, I hold to bee the due ground; upon which wee are inabled to provide an establishment of Unity in Religion among our selves, (as heretofore a Reformation in Religion for our selves) without

out concurrence of the Whole. But if wee should think our selves at large, to conclude our selves without respect to the Faith and Laws of the whole Church, wee may easily bring upon our selves a just imputation of Hæreticks, for communicating with Hæreticks; but a juster of Schismaticks, if wee abrogate the Laws of the whole Church, to obtain Unity among our selves; as declaring thereby, that we are not content to hold Unity with the Whole, unless a part may give Law to the Whole. So far am I from that madness, which hath had a hand in all our miseries; of thinking the right measure of Reformation to stand in going as far as it is possible from the Church of *Rome*. For, were it evidenced, (as it neither is, nor ever will bee evidenced,) that the *Pope* is Antichrist, and all Papists, by their profession, Idolaters; yet must wee either rase the Article of *one Catholick Church* out of our Creed, or confess, that the *Pope* can neither bee Antichrist, nor the Papists Idolaters, for, or by any thing which is common to them with the Whole Church.

I know some will think it strange, that the *Pope* should excommunicate us on *Maundy-Thursdays*; that wee should swear in the Oath of Supremacy, that no forreign Prelate hath, or ought to have, any Jurisdiction, or Authority Ecclesiastical in this Kingdom; and yet wee bee subject to do such Acts, for which the Church of *Rome* may justly renounce communion with us. But the word *ought* in that Oath is Indicative, and not Potential; not *deberet*, but *debet*. For it were a contradiction for the Church of *England*, to pray for *the Catholick Church*, and the unity thereof, and yet renounce the Jurisdiction of the whole Church, and the General Council thereof, over it self. King *James* of excellent memory, acknowledgeth the *Pope* to bee Patriarch of the *West*; that is, Head of the general Council of the Western Churches. And the right R. Father in God, *Thomas L. B.* of *Winchester* under *Q. Elizabeth*, in his answer to the Seminaries Apology, being demanded why wee own him not so in effect, answereth bluntly, but truly, because hee is not content with the right of a Patriarch. For, should hee disclaim the pretense of dissolving the bond of Allegiance, should hee retire to the privilege of a Patriarch, in seeing the Canons executed, the Schisme would lie at our door, if wee

should refuse it. Now, if they curse us, while wee pray for the Unity of the whole Church, is it not the case of the Catholicks with the Donatists? For, these rebaptized them whom those had baptized, whitened over the inside of their Churches, when they became possessed of them, scraped over their Altars, (being Tables of wood) in detestation of them, as Apostates and persecutors; while the Catholicks called them *bretbren*, and acknowledged them rightly baptized, and received them that were converted from that Schism in their respective Orders. The Unity of the Church is of such consequence to the salvation of all Christians, that no excess on one side can cause the other to increase the distance, but they shall bee answerable for the souls that perish by the means of it.

And therefore, not departing from the opinion which I have declared, concerning the terms upon which all parties ought to reconcile themselves, until I shall have reason shewed me, why I should do it; I shall now go no further, then the matters that are actually questioned among us; not extending my discourse so points, that may perhaps more justly become questionable, then some of those which have come into dispute. Professing in the beginning, that I believe they may and ought to bee settled by a Law of the Kingdom, obliging all parties beside Recusant. But, that the mater of that Law ought to bee limited by the consent and Authority of the Church, respective to this Kingdom. And withall, that I think it ought to be held, and shall for mine own part hold it an act meerly *ambulatory*, and *provisional* for the time. For, though there is no hope of reconciliation with the Church of *Rome*, as things are; yet is there infinite reason for all sides, to abate of their particular pretensions, for the recovering of so incomparable a benefit as the Unity of the Whole; If ever it shall please God to make the parties appear disposed to it.

Now, the errors which wee are to shut out, if wee will recover the Unity of a Visible Church, (that is, of Gods Whole Church) are two, in my judgement. First, though some things have been disputed in other parts, from whence the same consequence may bee inferred; yet *England* is the place, and ours the times, which first openly and downright have maintained, that *there is no such thing as a Church, in the nature of one visible Com-*

Communion, founded by God. But it is maintained by several parties among us, upon several grounds. For, some do not, or will not understand, that there can bee any Ecclesiastical power founded by that act of God which foundeth Christianity, where there is Secular Power, founded also by those acts of God, whereby hee authorizeth and Inforceth all just Sovereignties. Though all times, all parts, all Nations of Christendom since *Constantine*, profess to maintain the Church in that power, in which they found it acknowledged by Christians, when hee first undertook to maintain that Christianity which hee professed; all this must bee taken, either for meer hypocritie, or meer nonsense. Others there are, that do not think themselves obliged to the unity of Gods Church, upon far different Principles. There are of our *Enthusiasts*, such as are themselves every one a Church to themselves, and by themselves; as being above Ordinances, and the Communion of the Church provided only for proficients. But all Independent Congregations make the same profession, and are manifestly grounded upon the same. For, how can they imagine themselves members of *one visible Church*, who profess that they cannot bee obliged to hold communion with any Congregation but their own?

And yet, with favour, the same consequence insuing upon so different pretenses, there must bee some supposition common to both, upon which both do ground themselves. And it is easily visibile what that is. Both opinions must suppose, that a man may bee heir to Christs Kingdom, and indowed with Gods Spirit, without being, or before hee bee a member of Gods Church. And the Independents indeed do manifestly profess, that, knowing themselves and others to bee Gods children, and indowed with his Spirit, they are in a capacity to joyn in Ecclesiastical Communion, with those whom they know to bee such. So, they become members of a Church, being Gods children before, without considering how they shall bee members of the Whole Church. The others are satisfied, that, by being members of a State which professeth Christianity, they are also members of that *one Holy Catholick and Apostolick Church*, which by our Creed wee profess to believe. A ground which holdeth accidentally, so long as that State constituteth a visible member of the Whole, or the Catholick Church.

But not imaginable to serve the turn, when States differ in point of Christianity, and may every day appeal to force, whether is the true Church and whether the false.

For, is it not manifest, that the professions of the *Lutherans*, the *Calvinists*, the Greeks, the *Abyssines*, are protected by Sovereign powers, as well as the profession of the Church of *Rome*, or the Church of *England*? Is it not manifest, that the Powers that profess them, maintain them respectively to bee Gods truth? Why then do wee dispute any longer, which is the true Religion and which is the false, if it bee enough for Christians to resolve all the doubt they can have concerning Religion, into the command of their Sovereigns, only professing Christianity? Is it not manifest that Sovereigns do use to punish their Subjects, that conform not to their Laws concerning Religion, but follow that Religion which is in force under other Sovereignties? Is it possible to imagine, that Subjects can bee obliged, by one and the same will of God, to follow contrary Religions under several Sovereigns? Or that Sovereigns can bee inabled, by one and the same Law of God, to punish their Subjects, for serving God according to contrarie professions? True it is, Subjects that suffer in a good cause shall bee gainers thereby; gaining Heaven by their losses of this world. But what shall become of the Sovereigns that persecute them, being in a good cause? Or how shall not some of them bee persecuted in a good cause, who are persecuted in contrary causes? I know not whether this peremptory difficulty was the cause; But I am sure recourse hath been had to a more desperate answere; that every Subject is bound to profess the Religion of his Sovereign; yea, though it injoin him to renounce Christ with his mouth; remaining bound all the while to believe in him with his heart: and that by this belief, hee shall bee saved as a Christian. Neither is this position tenable but upon this answere; nor doth this answere import any les, then the utter renouncing of Christianity. I know, that in the Records of the antient Church, those who only professed to believe Christianity, (who were called *Catechumeni*, or *Scholars to the Church*) are sometimes called by the name of *Christians*. But I know withall, that they were never counted in the state of Salvation, till they had taken upon them the profession of Christianity, by being admitted

mitted to the Sacrament of Baptisme. I know also, that this Baptisme, though it was not counted void, when it was Ministered in due form; yet it was never counted effectual to Salvation, but when a man is baptized into the true Faith; and that, in the Unity of Gods Church. For, though the names of Hæreticks and Schismaticks, have been made only *Bug-bears* to fright children with, in this time of our troubles; yet, so long as Christianity continues, those that separate themselves from the Church upon pretenses concerning the substance of Faith, shall bee properly counted *Hæreticks*; But, if the cause concern not the substance of Christianity, *Schismaticks*. And therefore, Christianity consisting not only in believing, or purposing with the heart, but also in professing with the mouth; (first sincerelie, then the true Faith, and lastly, by being baptized) hee that professeth himself free to renounce his Christianity, as far as the mouth, hath effectively renounced it; because hee hath effectively drawn back that promise, upon condition whereof hee was baptized; of professing Christianity to the death.

And truly, if every Christian State bee the Church of God within the territories thereof, then cannot all Churches concur to make up that one Visible Church of God which our Creed professeth. For, there is nothing more evidently true then the saying of *Plato*; that all States are naturally enemies one to another, especially those that are borderers. And this enmity, in our daies, consisteth visibly in those differences of Religion, upon which the neighbour Sovereignties of Christendom are now at distance. It is therefore no way imaginable, how all Christian States should concur to make up that *one visible Church*, wherinto by being baptized, wee obtain the spiritual and eternal privileges of Christians. But, that it is the profession of the whole Rule of Christianity, that makes any people or State a part of the Visible Church; being governed by such rules, in the exercize of Gods service, as may make it the same Society with that, which was once unquestionably Gods Church, or part of it. For otherwise, how should the Visible Church continue one and the same, from the first to the second coming of our Lord?

And here you have the second point of our differences. For, all our Sects, under the title of Gods *free grace*, do maintain, that

that the promises of the Gospel, and our right in them, depends not upon the truth of mens Christianity. As if God were not free enough of his Grace, if hee should reserve himself a duty of being served, as by Christians, upon those whom he tenders life everlasting to, upon such terms. It is no new thing in *England*, to hear of those who profess, that God sees not, nor can see any sin in his elect. So that, in their opinion, there is no mortal sin but repentance; because that must suppose, that a man thought himself out of the *state of grace*, by the sin whereof hee repented. I think I am duly informed of a Malefactor dying upon the Gallows, that professed, to the strengthening of his brethren, that hee had overcome all temptation to repentance; acknowledging that, since his being in prison, hee had been strongly moved to repent. And, that one of *Hackets* three conspirators, when hee was come to himself, continued to profess, that hee thought himself in the state of Gods Grace all the while. But I will go no further, then the words which I have quoted in another place, out of a Pamphlet written to satisfie the Godlie party in *Wales*, being offended at the late Usurpers proceedings; which alledged, that wee are not to bee judged at the last day, either by our Works, or by our Faith; but by Gods everlasting purpose concerning each of us; by virtue whereof Christ being alive at the heart, the violation of all his engagements to them, by usurping over them as over others, made no difference in his estate towards God. Whosoever writ this, I think I am duly informed, that himself caused it to bee published. But I am certain, that, to the everlasting infamie of a Christian Nation, if reparation bee not made, it is supposed to bee the sense of all the *Godly* in it. And to the same effect, my memory assures me to have read in one of his speeches; That there are at this day inspirations of Gods Spirit *besides the Scriptures*, though not *against the Scriptures*. Now certainly, that which a man hath by virtue of the Scriptures; that is, of Christianity; can by no means bee understood to bee *besides the Scriptures*. And certainly, hee that presumeth upon any motion of Gods Spirit, not supposing Christianity; that is, not supposing the Scriptures; may by the same reason presume of his own salvation; not supposing that hee believes and lives as a Christian.

The same is the consequence of a Position, I will not say in-jointed

joined by any party, but notoriously allowed among us; That justifying Faith consisteth in believing that a man is one of them that are predestinate, whom God sent our Lord Christ to redeem, and none else. For, how can hee think himself obliged to make good the profession of a Christian, who thinks himself assured of all that hee can attain to by so doing, not supposing it? Indeed it may bee said, that our *Antinomians* and *Enthusiasts*, and other Sects among us, (whom no conceit without this could have seduced to their several frenzies,) do think themselves justified from everlasting, by Gods decree to send Christ for that purpose; whereas this opinion dateth Justification from the instant that God revealeth the said decree by his Spirit; in which *revelation* they think that justifying Faith consisteth. And certainly, there can bee no reason why God, receiving men into Grace, only in consideration of Christs obedience, should suspend their reconciliation upon that knowledge of his purpose, which hee giveth them by Faith. For what can bee more unreasonable, than that God should justifie a man, by revealing to him that hee is justifie? But the opinion is not the less destructive to Christianity, because it is the more unreasonable. Now it is possible, that the effect of this position may bee stifled, and become void in some, by reason of other truths which contradict the same indeed, and yet are believed by them, notwithstanding the consequence of their own persuasions. But those who, besides this position, do pertinaciously hold absolute predestination to Glory, those, I maintain, are in an error destructive to Christianity, that is, in an *Heresie*. And therefore this Doctrine being such, it is no way enough, that it is no way enjoined to bee taught; but it is requisite that it bee disclaimed, by those that pretend to recover the Unity of a Visible Church. For there can bee no Church, where any thing destructive to Christianity, which the being of the Church supposeth, is notoriously allowed to bee taught.

Now, between these two points of our differences, I am to observe a vast difference. For, this latter is necessary for all Christians to know; as being the principle of all those actions, which, being just for the mater of them, must render the men acceptable to God in order to life everlasting. And therefore, hee that thinketh hee can bee regenerate, or justified, or the child

child of God, or indowèd with Gods Spirit, not supposing that hee undertakes and performs the profession of a Christian, renounces the Article of his Creed, concerning *one baptisme to remission of sins.* But the being of Gods Visible Church consisteth in that Unity, which ariseth upon the agreement of all Christians, to hold Communion in the visible Offices of Gods service. And therefore, though it bee an Article of our Creed, to believe *one Catholick Church*; yet can it not concern the salvation of every particular Chrifian, to understand the nature of that Society or *Corporation*, which the bond of this Unity createth. Nay, even they who are best seen in that Government, by which this Unity is preserved, may well fail in comprehending the reason thereof, by reflecting their discourse upon it. In the mean time, it is necessary for all that believe their Creed, to think themselves tied by this Article, to maintain the Unity of the Church, according to their estate; That is, for every ones part, not to bee accessory to any Schisme that dissolveth it. And therefore, to deny the crime of Schisme is to deny this Article.

The consequence of this observation will bee the difference which the Church hath reason to use, in reconciling parties at distance from it, to the Unity thereof; according to the difference of those pretenses upon which they are at distance. For, those who have only disputed against the being of the Church, upon misunderstanding the right of Secular Power, which they think the being of the Church inconsistent with, shall bee sufficiently reunited to the Church, by conforming to the Law by which the Church is, and was, and may bee established. For, that there ought to bee provision against such disputes for the future, it concerns not me to give warning. Only, where willfullnes hath proceeded so far in maintaining a false position, as to make no bones of denying Christianity, and teaching Atheism, (by obliging to renounce Christ, if the Sovereign command it) it concerneth the Christianity of the Nation to see reparation made.

But, where the Hæretical positions mentioned afore have notoriously been maintained; especially, where Congregations have been framed, and used, for the exercise of Religion, upon pretense of them; there will it bee absolutely necessarie, that they

they bee expreſſly renounced and diſclaimed, either by persons in particular, or in Body by Congregations. To this head I reduce all *Anabaptiſts* and Congregations of *Anabaptiſts*; Those of the fifth *Monarchy*, and Congregations of the fifth *Monarchy*; *Quakers*, and Congregations of *Quakers*. Nay, all *Independent* Congregations, in my opinion, ought to bee reduced under this measure. Not only because their profession is grounded upon the denial of *one viſible Church*; But, because they ſuppoſe themſelves children of God, and indow'd with his Spirit, before they bee members of Gods Church; That is, ſetting aside their Baptiſm, and the Covenant which is ſolemnly inacted by it, between God and each ſoul. And, though I do refer my ſelf to the wiſdom of Superiors, in what form this reconciliation bee ſolemnized; yet, I muſt expreſſ my opinion thus far, that there can bee none ſo fit, as that which the wiſdom of the Catholick Church, from the beginning, hath alwaies frequented: By granting them the bleſſing of the Church, with Imposition of hands, renouncing for their part their ſeveral ſects and Errors; That is, by the praiers of the Church, for the Spirit of God, to reſt upon them, who have barred their baptism from giving it, by oppoſing the peace of the Church, which now they retire unto. For how ſhall the Unity of the Church bee ſecured, but by declar-ing them who violate the ſame accuſed of God?

Nor let it bee thought, that, our Sectaries of their own accord retiring themſelves unto the Communion of this Church, it will bee requisite for the Church to admit them, without taking notice of any thing that hath paſſed. For, neither is it to bee preſumed, that they, who have made their own wiſes their Law for ſo many years, will ſo much as profefs conformitie to the Rule of the Church; And, if they did profefs it, there is no reaſon to think that they ſhould ſtand to it; having a diſpenſation dormant, of the Spirit, to ſtand to their profession, as the intereſt of their faction ſhall require. So, their coming to Church would bee only an advantage for them to infect others. And how ſhould that Communion bee counted a Church, which intertwains Hæreticks as Hæreticks, and Schismaticks as Schismaticks; that is, without renouncing poſitions deſtructive to the Faith; without obliging themſelves for the future, to hold Unity with the Church? Certainly there is no juſt anſwer for this, if the Church of *Rome* ſhould obiect it, for the

reason why they refuse to hold communion with us. Certainly St. *Augustine*, when hee was charged by the *Donatists*, that the Church received their Apostates without rebaptizing them, and in their respective Orders, could have had no answer, if he had not had this; That the Church received them not as *Donatists*, but as converted from being *Donatists*; they not refusing to profess so much.

Certainly it may bee, and perhaps is justifiable for the Secular Power, to grant them the exercise of their Religion, in private places of their own providing, under such moderate penalties, as the disobeying of the Laws of a mans Country might require. For, persecution to death for that cause, the whole Reformation condemneth in the Church of *Rome*; And I conceive there is no reason for that, which will not condemn persecution to banishment. But this would require the like moderation to bee extended to Recusants of the Church of *Rome*. True it is, in mine opinion, those Papists that think themselves tied by the *Bull of Pius V.* against Queen *Elizabeth*; or, that they may bee tied by the like Acts of his Successors against hers, are justly liable to the utmost of penalties, as professed enemies to their Country. But, besides that it is manifest, that all Papists are not of that opinion, which the said *Bull* presupposeth; The State may easier be secured of Papists, against all such power in the Pope, then of our Sectaries, against that dispensation to their Allegiance, which the pretense of Gods Spirit may import when they please.

And whereas it is manifest, that many Papists hold against those equivocations and reservations, which destroy all confidence of the Sovereign in his Subjects allegiance; How shall a State bee secured against that infamous falsehood of the late U-surper, in any man that pretends Gods Spirit upon his terms, which I mentioned afore? Besides, the Recusants, being for the most part, of the good Families of the Nation, will take it for a part of their Nobility, freely to profess themselves in their Religion, if they understand themselves; whereas the Sectaries, being people of mean qualitie, for the most part, cannot bee presumed to stand upon their reputation so much. So, if they cannot bee tolerated in the exercise of their Religion, it must bee provided, upon what terms they may bee received by the Church. And by that which hath been said, it may appear what my opinion will require of the Presbyterians, for the condition of reconciling

ciling our selves into one Church again; Namely, in the first place, their submission to the Act, or Decree, or Order, according to which the Sectaries ought to bee tied to renounce the damnable positions which they have notoriously set on foot. For, if they should refuse this, what reason could bee alleged, why they should bee counted Strangers to that infection, which they will not exclude? As for the other Article of the Creed, concerning *one Visible Church*, it is evident that they cannot belong to that Church, supposing the Premises. For it is evident, that there was a time, when the whole Church was governed by Bishops; and that not against Gods Law, for then there had remained no Church. And therefore, for them to break the Unity of the Church, upon pretense of governing this Church by Presbyters, is to break Unity, unless a part may give Law to the whole; which who so do, are for so doing Schismaticks. And the Church of *Rome* would have due cause to cast us off for Schismaticks, if wee should admit this pretense. But this is a point, the knowledg whereof cannot belong to the substance of Christianity, for the reason alleged before. And therefore, I do not think the Church tied to exact the express profession of it, or the disclaiming of the error that is opposite to it. On the other side, the Church, maintaining the Ordinations of Presbyters alone to bee meer nullities in themselves, can never own their Ordinations, without renouncing the Catholick Church; yet may it consent in the persons, upon their consent to the order, which shall bee established for the future. And indeed, what can they challenge by the meer consent of certain Presbyters, which the Ministers of Congregations may not pretend to, by the consent of their respective Congregations? And yet, I suppose, both parties are agreed, not to own them in that Power which the celebration of the *Eucharist* importeth? Let any man, that is capable to judge of such maters, think upon the madnes of the *Lancashire* Presbyterians without prejudice; Of whom I am duly informed, that they caused those, who were ordained only Deacons in the Church of *England*, to do the office of Presbyters (which they had no title to) in celebrating the *Eucharist*; And tell me what reason there can bee, excluding the Ordinations of the Congregations, to admit the usurpations of the Presbyterians. As for the form and solemnity, in which the consent of the Church to their Ordinations

shall bee celebrateed, therein I refer my self to the wisdom of Superiors; Thinking it would bee a great impertinence in the Presbyterians, if, finding a necessity of submitting those whom they have already promoted, to the judgment of the Church, for the condition upon which they are to Minister ; (which, without doubt, is the principal) they should insist upon the accessorie, which is the form, and solemnity, by which the power is visibly conveyed. And thus I think the second great difficulty, concerning their Ordinations, may bee composed.

Now, supposing these great difficulties set aside ; the composing of our first differences, about the Order of Bishops, and the Service, cannot seem difficult, if the parties bee content to give up their ingagements, to the advantage, which the Christianity of the Nation may have by it. For, what reasonable Christian can think much to acknowledg, that, by reason of those partialities, which at length have produced this Schisme, the Ecclesiastical Laws of the Land are capable of amendment in those two points? On the other side, doth not dear experience tell all parts, that the change of them by force, though it must bee called Reformation, if the Law of the Land call it so, yet, is not likely to bee that which it is called? Besides; consider the kindnes which his Majesties return, and Gods goodnes, that hath over-ruled mens hearts in it, hath bred in all parties consenting to it. For, can wee have this before us, and not hope that it will bee enough to subdue all prejudice and animosities, to the interest of our common Chrtianity? Had the peace of the Church never been questioned, it might bee charity in a discreet Christian, not to call it into question, by proposing what might bee amended; because the hope of amendment might not countervail the danger of that peace. But, now that Unity is not to bee had, without settling of agreement in maters of difference ; to propose what may seem best for the Communitie of Gods Church, in the cure of our breaches, is not to give offense, but to take it away.

I will therefore premise here one consideration, which I mean to affuse for a supposition, to ground that which I shall propose to this purpose. It shall contain that which I observe in the New Testament, and the primitive practice of Gods Church pointing out the meaning of it, concerning the difference between the Clergy and People in all Churches, and the ground of it. For, though

though the edict of our Lord in the Gospel bee peremptory, that *who so forsaketh not all things, cannot bee my Disciple*; that is a Christian; (For, they who were other whiles called *Disciples*, were called *Christians* at *Antiochia*, as wee read in the *Actis*,) yet common reason evinceth, that all Disciples professed not to forsake the World, (which wee all profess to forsake at our Baptisme) according to the same rate. For, wee see by the Gospel, that the voluntary oblations of those who followed our Lord, ministring to him, made a stock of money, which *Judas* was trusted with, for charitie to the poor, after that his followers were provided for. But, it is against the evidence of common sense to imagine, that all those who professed to follow Christ, and to bee his Disciples, were provided for out of this Stock. It is true, our Lord promiseth in the Gospel, that whosoever shall forsake kindred, or wife, or house, or goods, for the Gospel, shall receive an hundred fold here, and in the World to come life everlasting. A thing visibly fullfilled in the primitive state of the Church; when, whosoever was persecuted for Christianity, all Christians acknowledged themselves bound to provide for his support. Neither can it bee said, how S. Pauls saying; that *godliness hath the promises of this life and of that which is to come*; could bee otherwise fullfilled; when those who had undertaken Christs Cros were subject to powers, that did, or might persecute Christianity at their pleasure. But, though all Christians, in case of persecution, are bound by their Baptisme², to leave all they have, that they may carry Christs Cros after him; Yet it was something more that S. Peter meant when hee said; *Lord wee have left all to follow thee; what shal we have?* For, though a Net and a Fisher-boat were no great thing to leave; yet, so firm a faith as to forsake a mans whole course of living, casting himself upon the word of Christ for his very being, whether here or in the World to come, is suitable to the promise that follows, of *sitting upon XII. Thrones to judge the XII. Tribes of Israel*. The Christians of *Jerusalem*, who parted with their Estates, that the Disciples might bee maintained in their daily attendance upon Gods service, cannot bee said to have obtained thereby any common rank in the Church. But it must be said, that, quitting their former course and state of living, by quitting the means of maintaining it, they became from thenceforth, either of the Clergy, or of the

the poor which were always maintained out of the stock of the Church. For, by S. Pauls instructions to *Timothy*, 1 Tim. V. it appeareth, that those Widows, which were employed and maintained by the Church for the common necessities of it, were to be taken out of such as were destitute of means to live otherwise.

Herewith agreeth an infinite number of examples in the primitive Church, of Godly Bishops, Priests, and others of the Clergy, who, taking upon them such professions, deuested themselves of their worldly goods; whether applying them to the property, or only to the use of the Church; as reserving themselves power to dispose of them, in favour of friends or kindred, at their death. And, from the same reason and ground proceed all the Canons, whereby it was provided, that they should not dispose of the Church goods to such uses, at death; but of their own, well and good. For, whatsoever their estates were, though they renounced them not, yet, it became necessary for them to live as others of the Clergy lived; who were generally poor when they were promoted, and therefore professed to content themselves with meer necessaries, because the Church goods, of which they lived, were due to the maintenance of the poor, as well as of the Clergy. From whence wee may see, what truth there is in those sayings of the Fathers, which make the precepts of our Lord, in his Sermon upon the mount, maters of Counsel. For, if all Christians bee to leave all things that they may follow Christ, it is certain that they are commanded, and not only advised, to *turn the other cheek*, to *quit a mans Cloak to him that takes away his Cloak*, to undergo the rest of those precepts, whereby our Lord describeth the duty of a Christian; provided they bee so understood, as the maintenance of a mans estate in the World, and the obligations which it inferreth, even by virtue of that Christianity which alloweth the same, will require. But, if there bee another estate in the Church, of Disciples which profess to follow Christ, leaving the imployment of the world for that purpose; and therefore, to forbear the pleasures and profits thereof accordingly; That strict Rate and that high degree, in which they profess to leave the world to follow Christ, must needs bee meer matter of Counsel; because no man is commanded to undertake that estate, but invited to it, for the securing of his Salvation, who knows hee may be saved without it. Whereby it appears,

appears, that this estate imports a profession of abstinence from the pride, the revenge, the lusts and pleasures of the world, as well as from the riches of it ; as well of the humility, the patience, the continence, the meekness and obedience of our Lord, as of the mean estate in which hee lived ; But that, for the means to compass this end, it imports first, a profession of renouncing the rank & estate which every man holds in the world : and of dedicating himself to the service of the Church, and that imployment which tends to the common good of Christians.

If it should bee inferred from hence, that the state of the Clergy, importing the forsaking of the World, at this extraordinary Rate, must therefore import the profession of single life, as some of the Church of *Rome* would have it ; The answer is, that it will not follow. And the instance is peremptory ; That the Apostles themselves, who thus left the world, did not profess it. And if, by undertaking the Clergy, a man was not obliged to renounce his goods ; As appears by those Canons which enable the Clergy to dispose of them at death ; much less doth that estate import a profession of single life ; being more difficult to perform, then to live as a Clergy man upon the Church goods. For, it is possible for them who have wives, to live as if they had them not, according to S. Paul ; No otherwise, then it is possible for them who have the dispensing of Church goods, to use them as if they used them not. The reason of single life for the Clergy is firmly grounded, by the Fathers and Canons of the Church, upon the precept of S. Paul, forbidding man and wife to part, unless for a time, to attend upon Prayer. For, Priests and Deacons being continually to attend upon occasions of celebrating the *Eucharist*, which ought continually to be frequented; if others bee to abstain from the use of Marriage for a time, for that purpose, then they always. And this is the reason, that prevailed so far, even in the primitive times, that the instances which are produced to the contrary, during those times, seem to argue no more then dispensation in a Rule, which had the force of a Law, when an exception took not place ; That is, when those that were thought necessary for the service of the Church, thought not fit to tye themselves to live single.

But this profession was evidently the ground for that discipline, which was used all over the Church, in breeding youth from tender years, to such a strict course of life, as only use and custom

custom is able to render agreeable to mans nature. And to the education and discipline, all the authority and credit of the Clergy over the people is to bee imputed ; the dissolution whereof, is the true occasion of the miseries which wee have seen. For, did the people think themselves tyed to depend upon the Clergy for their instructions, to admit their admonitions and reproofs in mater of Religion ; (that is, did the discipline and education of the Clergy maintain them in that authority with the people) it is not possible, that the pride which hath been seen, in setting up new Religions, and giving new Laws to the Church, should take place. But this authority is not to be preserved, without retirement from the world ; that is, from conversation with the People, of what ranke or degree soever, whether upon pretense of profit or pleasure. And therefore being once lost, by the debauches of the Clergy before the Reformation, it is not to be restored, without restoring the ground of it, the said education and discipline ; nor, by consequence, the Reformation to bee counted compleat otherwise ; Supposing always the Reformation to bee the restoring of that Church which hath been, not the building of that which hath not been. The same education and discipline is, by the express Canons of the Church, the ground of that title, upon which promotion is due to the Clergy, in their respective Churches. For, what is more against the Rules of the Church, then to take such men for Priests and Bishops of such Churches, as men know not how they behaved themselves in lower degrees ? Those that talk of the Interest of the People in Ecclesiastical promotions, without supposing this ground, do allege nothing but their own dreams, to bring their own dreams to pass.

Having this premised, I must needs say, I see no manner of inconvenience in that which the Presbyterians pretend for the cheif cause of their distance ; that is, the concurrence of Prelates with their Bishops, in Ordinations, and the Jurisdiction of the Church ; provided it bee settled in that form, which, being grounded upon the Rule of the Catholick Church, may tend to restore and advance the common Christianity.

Now, I take the Rule of the Church to bee as evidently this, as the common Christianity is evident ; that every City, with the Territory thereof, bee the seat and content of a Church. For, though it hath been used with so much difference in several parts and

parts and times of the Church, that those Countries, which some whiles, and some where, might have been cast into four-score Churches, have other whiles, and elsewhere, been cast into four; yet, these are but exceptions to a Rule, which, the Law faith, do not destroy, but confirm it. For, in matters concerning the Whole, the Unity of the Whole, may as well bee preserved by the concurrence of four, as of four-score.

The Churches, (that is, according to this Rule) the Dioceses of *England*, have been constituted and distinguished upon occasion of the Sovereignties, in which, and by consent whereof, the Christianity of the Nation was first planted. Hee that considereth with half an eye, shall easilly see, how the conversion of *Kent*, of the *East*, and *South*, and *West Saxons*, of the *East Angles* and *Mercians*, and lastly of *Northumberland*, produced the foundation of English Churches. For, of the British foundations, in the *West* parts of the *Island*, from the two Forths to the Lands end, the same account is to bee kept; the Dominion of the *Britains* being for some time divided into several Sovereignties. Hee that is convicted of this truth, (which no man can bee convicted of, but hee that considereth the case; But, who so considereth the case, must needs stand convict of it) will easilly grant me, that when the Monarchy prevailed, and *England* came to bee divided into Counties, the General Rule of the Church would have required another course to have been observed. For, had the Head Town of every County been made the Seat of a Church containing that County, no man, that surveys the division of the *Roman Empire* into Churches (made without the secular Power, as before *Constantine*) will deny; That, the division so made would have been more correspondent to the primitive forme, tending to the Unity of the Whole.

But, let no man think, that, for the love of such a correspondence, I have any itch to call in question the Unity of the Whole. The alteration is great, and must needs produce a great motion, to ingraffe it into the Laws of the Kingdom. And therefore, I am not of opinion to change the Law for hope of amendment, with so much appearance of danger, to the being of the Whole. But I am of opinion, that it would bee easie to erect Presbyteries; that is, Colleges of Presbyters, in all Shire Towns which have no Cathedral Churches; for the

Ecclesiastical Government of the respective Counties, with, and under the Bishops; And that so, the Rule of the Church would bee set on work, to the best effect and purpose. For, those Towns have commonly Churches altogether unprovided of means, through the horrible sacrileges that have passed; and yet, in common reason, (agreeing with the wisdom of Gods Spirit, from whence the Rule of Episcopacy issued) ought to bee Nurseries of Christianity to the respective Counties. And that intent cannot so well bee brought to effect, as by planting the wisest, and those that have most of the Clergy in their lives, in the most eminent places, with authority next to the Chief, over their respective bounds. By the ministry of such persons, the Offices of Gods service might so bee performed in the chief places, as might be a pattern for their Country Churches to follow. These Presbyters might grow up, by education, in that discipline of the Clergy, which I have recommended upon the experience of the whole Church. They might live a Collegiate life in common, exercising a care and inspection over Inferiors; together with the charge of instructing, or seeing them instructed in the Scriptures. The Canon of the whole Church, confining all degrees of the Clergy to their respective Churches, might bee revived by their means; The superseding whereof, being certainly one of the irregularities of the Papacy, hath conduced much to the dissolution of Discipline in the Church. For, in conscience, how can hee that is obligeed to any Church, give account of himself to another, to which the first is not subordinate? And therefore, though the Presbyteries which I propose bee not Churches, yet may they take account of their respective Clergy, and render it to their Bishop. The promotion of inferior Orders, belonging unto their account, may proceed upon the account which they give. The censures that are requisite to pass *in foro exteriori* may pass them in the first instance, and from them being transmitted to the Bishop, bee either inacted or voided; Always with right of appeal to the Synod of the Province, in cases of weight, and in the intervals thereof, to their Deputies; To which purpose, and in which nature, the High Commission ought to bee revived. For, as it is by no means to bee allowed, that the Bishops negative bee any way questioned; So is it no way fit, that the consent of Bishop and Presbyters both bee concluded in one and the same instance

instance. As for those Dioceses which are concluded within only one County; there, I suppose, I need not say, that the Chapter of the Cathedral are by inheritance this Presbytery.

Now, these Colleges of Presbyters consisting of those only, that shall have run the whole course of their lives in the education and discipline of the Clergy; is there any possible pretense of burthen upon them, if the condition of single life should bee required, to qualify them for their places? For, this were not to tye any man to single life, seeing who will may go forth, and bee provided of a Country Church; But it were to maintain the discipline of the Clergy, in the most eminent places, wherein, there is a course proposed to them who imbrace it, of ending their days in it. And the course of a Collegiate life, which I propose, seemeth a sufficient means and advantage to overcome those temptations, which in these days, may seem too difficult for all the Clergy to undergo.

As for the means of supporting these Presbyteries, wherein the Cure of all Parishes within the Shire Towns is provided for, and included; It is no difficulty to him that considers with conscience, that originally, the endowment of the Diocese was the Patrimony of the Mother Church; and afterwards appropriated to Parish Churches, by abating the right of the Mother Church, upon particular contracts, appearing to bee for the good of the parts. For, if the Mother Church have abated so much of her common right, when it was for the good of the Parishes; Is it not necessary, that the Parishes now abate of their property in their respective endowments, by Pensions to these Colleges, now they appear to bee for the good of the Diocese? And this I am now bold to profess, though Superiors do not go before in it, because I am confident, that by this position, I abate not a hair of that Power which the Bishops in *England* now use; But I adde much to the strictness of discipline, (that is, in effect, of Christianity) by requiring all Ordinations, all acts of Jurisdiction *in foro exteriori*, to pass both the Presbyters and the Bishop in several instances. And further then this I extend not the opinion of a Divine to particulars; but leave the rest intire to the wisdom of Superiors. And this may serve to show, that there is no cause why the difference on foot, concerning the Government of the Church, may not settle into a change, conduced to the advancement of the common Christianity.

Which will hold till stronger in the other, concerning the Service, if men take their measures by the common interest of Christianity, not by their particular prejudices. For, I conceive, I may well suppose, that the Sectaries pretense of praying by the Spirit, is content to bee buried in oblivion and silence; considering that the excesses are evident, and horrible, which that pretense hath brought forth. Besides, that no man now stands to that dangerous position; That the Offices of Gods service are of no effect, when they are ministred by such as are not in the state of Grace. For, I presume it is not, nor can bee supposed on any hand, that all whom the Church must employ, are indow'd with Gods spirit; that is, are in the state of Grace. I suppose further, as not questioned on any hand, that the publick service of God is to consist of the praises of God, (by the Psalms of *David*, and other Hymns of Gods Church) of the reading of the Scriptures, of the instruction of Gods people out of them; in fine, of the Prayers of the Church, and in the chief place, of the Sacrament of the Eucharist, and those prayers which it is to bee celebrated with.

Some of our Sects have been bold to pretend, that the Psalter, or Psalms of *David*, are impertinent to the Devotions of Christians; as concerning the particular condition of *David*, and composed with regard to it. Whereby they overthrow the foundation of Christianity, standing upon this supposition; that the Old Testament is the figure and shadow of the New, and that Christ hath the key of the writings, as well as of the house of *David*. For, seeing Christ and his mysticall Body the Church are all one, the meaning and intent of the Psalms cannot concern Christ, but it must end in his Church. But, seeing the Church is but shadowed in the Psalms, being part of the Old Testament; I can expect no dispute of the necessity of other Hymns, composed under Christianity, in the solemnizing of Gods publick service. And seeing the question on foot concerns the settling of the form of Gods service by a Law of the Kingdom; there can remain no dispute concerning the necessity of a settled Order in reading the Scriptures, and using the Psalms and Hymns of the Church. Nor do I know any man, sincerely professing the Reformation, that could which not wish with all his heart, that the whole order and form to bee settled, with the circumstance of the same, might bee according to the primitive sim-

simplicity, and naked plainness of the antient Church; supposing the difference between the state in which the Church lived under persecution, and now, that, being protected by the secular Power, it receiveth all the World to take part in the service of God. For, what difference this will infer in the Order and Rule of Gods service, to bee inacted by a Law of this Kingdom, common reason, and the perpetual practise of Gods Church, together with the precedents recorded in Scripture, must bee admitted to Witness.

These things supposed, no man doubts, that the form of service now in force by the Law of this Land, may bee acknowledged capable of amendment, without disparagement, either to the wisdom of the Church, that prescribed, or of the Nation that inacted it. For, what positive Law of man is there that is not? Nay, what arrogance can it bee in a particular person, (having bestowed more consideration upon it, then it is possible, that those who had the framing of it should have leisure to do) to think that hee knows some particulars, in which it might bee mended? For, neither doth it follow, that it is better to endanger the spoiling of it by calling it in question, then to let it rest as it is: And that particular person, whosoever hee is, that should think his own opinion necessary to bee followed, without compromising it to the publick, would justly incur the mark of arrogance. Since therefore, that this is the time for such a debate, if any change bee pretended; and that the reasons mentioned afore, are of sufficient consideration to oblige all fides, to prefer unity before prejudice; what remains, but that, either it bee left intire in that State wherein it stands, or that nothing bee changed, without sufficient debate of reason upon the whole, what is fit to bee changed, what not?

But one thing I must here expressly stand upon, because the form of Gods service which hath been usurped during the Schisme, protesteth against the Law in force. I acknowledge, that the whole Reformation protesteth against the insufficiency and defects of the Church of *Rome*, in the course which it taketh for the instruction of Christian people, in the duties of their Christianity; against the abuses there practised, in celebrating the Eucharist without any pretense of a Communion, in private Masses: and in serving God in a Language which the people understand not. For, these abuses are a principal part of the ground

ground for that change, which wee justly maintain to bee Reformation ; The boldness of those that opposed it, being come to such a height, as openly to maintain , that it concerneth not Christian people to know, or to mind what is done at the Mass, (being the ordinary service of God, for which they come to Church,) or what is said ; But , that the intention of the Priest is enough to apply the sacrifice of Christ to all that are present, (which they think it doth no less to them that are absent ; and therefore leave us unsatisfied why people should come to Church) who need do nothing but say their *Paters* and their *Aves*. These abuses I do acknowledge. But, bee the World my witnes, and all that know what hath passed, for the mater of Religion, in the World, was it ever protested, by those who demanded Reformation in the Church, that the *Eucharist* ought to bee celebrated but four times or twelve times in the year ? That by Gods Law, there ought to bee two Sermons every Sunday in every Church ? That other Festivals beside the Sunday, and set times of Fasting ought not to bee solemnized with the service of God ? That the Church doors ought not to bee open, but when there is preaching ? Take the primitive practice of the Church along with the Scripture, and they shall tell you another tale ; that Prayer , and the praises of God, is the more principal end of Christian Assemblies, then Preaching. The reason is unanswerable ; For, the one is the end, the other the means. That the celebration of the Eucharist is the most principal Office of Gods service under Christianity, is no les evident. For, other Offices are common to Judaism ; this, consisting most in Prayers, consists of those Prayers which are proper to Christianity ; that is, to those causes wherein our Salvation consisteth. And can there bee question how frequent it ought to bee ? Shall not the practice of the whole Church, from the beginning, decide the question, if any remain ? The single life of the Clergy prevailed for this end, that they might bee always ready to celebrate the Eucharist ; say the Fathers, and the Canons, which I alleged afore. It is a question in *Gennadius de dogmatibus Ecclesiasticis*, whether every man ought to communicate every day or not. But therefore no question, that it ought to bee celebrated every day, that who so would might communicate. In conscience, would they bee bound to Preach every day, that are so much for Preaching ? After the reading of

of the Scripture, follows the Sermon, and after that the Eucharist; This is the primitive order of the whole Church, at that solemn service, when the Eucharist (on Fasting-days in the Evening, on other days before Noon) was Celebrated. After the Scriptures were read, the people were taught their duty out of them. A thing necessary and possible. Nor that every Curate should bee bound to declame by the Glass; But, that hee should bee bound to instruct his Parish out of the Scriptures which are read. If hee bee tyed to Preach as often as the Church door opens, the Church doer must bee shut; because no fides can hold out, so oft as Christians ought to meet for Gods service. I call the World to witness; Is it not as much a work of lungs and fides, as an Office of Gods service, which takes up the time of their Church Assemblies? Is not the way opened, by this means, to declame of publick Government in Church and State, to intertain the Hearers? For alas, should men confine themselves to that which the generality of their audience might edifie by, in their Christianity, the Trade would bee obstructed.

For, let mee freely say, the undoubted truth of the common Christianity, (which no Sermons ought to exceed, because they pretend the edification of the generality of Christians) is contained in so narrow a compas, that no eloquence (much less, the eloquence of all that maist come into the Pulpit) can change the seasoning and serving of it, so as to make it agreeable to mens palats; without fetching in mater impertinent, if not destructive to the common Christianity. And the same is, for more peremptory reason, to bee said of arbitrary Prayers. For, the very posture of him, that pretendeth to prefer the devotions of Gods people to the Altar which is above, strongly impreseith upon the hearts of simple Christians, an opinion, that thereby they discharge to God the duty which hee requires at their hands. Which, if the mater of those Prayers be such as the common Christianity requires, they may do indeed. But, if it be possible, that Rebellion, Slander, Nonsense and Blasphemy may bee the mater of them, as well as Christianity, then is it not Religion, but Superstition which such devotions exercise: Nor, can that Kingdom stand excused to God, which shall gratifie that licentiousnes, whereof they see the effect before their eyes. All reason of Christianity concurses with the practise of

of the whole Church, to witness; that the interest of Christianity requires the service of God to bee maintained and exercised daily, (yea hourly, were it possible) not only by particular Christians, but by Assemblies of Christians, so far as the busines of the World will give leave, and as there is means to maintain mens attendance upon it. There may come abuse in the order, the form, the matter of that which is tendered to God for his Service. But, in stead of reforming those abuses, to take away the means, the Rule, the obligation of such meetings, is meer Sacrilege, in destroying, (under pretense of Reforming) Gods Church.

And, though I charge no such design upon those who maintain the obligation of the Sabbath to consist in two Sermons; yet I do maintain, it is manifest to common reason, that the form which that opinion introduceth necessarily tends to that effect. Strange it is, that a Nation capable of sense, in an age improved by learning, should bee intangled with the superstition of so vain an imagination; that God by the same fourth Commandment, should oblige both Jews to keep the Saturday, and Christians the Sunday; Especially, no man daring to maintain, that both were, or are tyed to the same measure of resting. And therefore, though, (rather then cross the stream of such a superstition; For, let no man think, that all superstition can bee shut out of Gods Church) there may bee reason to live conformable to the Rules which such superstition produceth; Yet, provided that the Ecclesiastical Laws of *England*, agreeing with the Laws of the Whole Church, bee not abated, so as to stick an evident mark of Schisme upon the Church of *England*. For, the Law that is recommending the celebration of the Eucharist, upon all Sundays and Festivals; but commanding the Service to bee used, as well on Festivals and Fasting days, as upon Sundays, (besides the week days) at the publick Assemblies of respective Congregations; To change this Order for two Sermons on the Sunday alone, what is it but to renounce the whole Church, for the love of those that have divided from the Church of *England*, upon causes common to it with the whole Church?

They that would have the Reformation of the Church to bee indeed, that which the Law of the Land calleth it, should first provide a course to bee established for Law, by which, all Christian souls, (who have equal interest in the common salvation) might

might serve God in publick, all Sundays and Festivals. For, seeing there was a course in Law, before the Reformation, for all servants, as well as others, to bee at Mass all Sundays and Festivals; And the Church was inable to require account of it at their hands; It will not bee Reformation to abrogate the abuses of the Mass, till a course bee taken, that all Christians may frequent that, which shall appear to bee indeed the service of God instead of the Mass. Let no Preachers flatter themselves with an opinion, that they shall ever make Christians so perfectly Jews, as to perswade them to dress no meat on the Sundays. If Servants must stay at home to dress meat on Sundays, (and for other occasions they must stay at home, besides that) will not the way to repair that breach, bee to injoyn several Assemblies in all Parish Churches, upon all Sunday mornings; that several Persons, of several Estates and qualities, may have opportunity to attend the publick service of God, at several hours of the same Sundays and Holy-days? For, though I understand very well, that this would impose upon the Church, (that is, upon my brethren of the Clergy,) a greater burthen, than an afternoons meal of a Sermon; (which all men know, is furnished of the cold meat of the forenoon) yet, it is necessary that the World should bee cleared of this imposture that reigneth; that two Sermons every Sunday, is the due way of keeping the Sabbath among Christians, or of advancing Gods publick service.

I will not here dispute, that the Lent-Fast was instituted by the Apostles. But this I maintain to bee evident, that the Fast afore the Resurrection of Christ is and was as antient as the Feast of his Resurrection; and that more antient then the keeping of all Lords days in the year, being meerly the reflection of that one, all the weeks of the year. Nor will any man, that knows what hee says, ever question, that the inlarging of it to forty days is a just Law, voluntarily undertaken by the Whole Church, not to bee condemned without the like mark of Schisme. For, since the World is come into the Church, is there not manifest reason, that more time should bee taken, for the expiating of more sins, which are the sins of more people? to prepare, as well the Elder, to renew their Christianity by communicating at Easter; as the younger to bee confirmed, and come first to the Communion at Easter, now they are baptized Infants? Which, in former ages, was the time of their first coming to Baptism.

As for the *Wednesdays* and *Fridays*, if wee shall not enter into the Kingdom of Heaven, unless our Righteousnes exceed the Righteousnes of the Scribes and Pharisees ; And, if it bee evident, as evident it is, that the Scribes and Pharisees prescribed *Mundays* and *Thursdays* for days of les solemn Assemblies then the Sabbath ; How shall wee enter into the Kingdom of Heaven, if, in despite of the whole Church, which hath hitherto used *Wednesdays* and *Fridays*, in lieu of *Mundays* and *Thursdays*, used by the *Synagogues*, wee void the Law of *England* by which they are in force ? Of the Ceremonies the same is to bee understood ; Not because it can bee within the compass of common reason to imagine, that the same Ceremonies have continued, from the time that the Church was persecuted into holes and caves of the Earth, to this time, in which the question is of settling Christianity by the Law of this Kingdom. It were want of common understanding to think that the same could serve. But, because so few, and so innocent as wee use, cannot bee condemned, without condemning, not only Gods whole Church, but also Gods antient people ; who will evidently bee found in the same cause.

One thing hath been cast forth in barre to all this, which wee must not swallow whole, unless wee mean to impose upon our selves. It is the pretense of complying with the Reformed Churches. For, it is evident, that there are four forms of Reformation extant ; One according to *Luther*, another according to *Calvine*, the third is, that of the Church of *England*, and in the last place, (though first for time, because least known, and protected by no Sovereign) I name that the Union in *Böhemia*. For, wee are to know, that the followers of *John Husse* having sent Deputies to the Council of *Basil*, they accorded to reunite the Nation upon four Articles ; The chief whereof was the Communion in both kinds. They that stood to the accord, are to this day called therein *Calixtini*, or *sub utraque*, in Latine. But another part of those that were at distance, thinking themselves betrayed by their Deputies in that accord, proceeded to settle themselves in a form of Religion, and the service of God, by that which they held the pure truth of God, in all points that had been disputed. The Emperour *Ferdinand I*, King of *Böhemia*, having subdued his subjects there, that rose with the Protestants in *Germany*, cast a good part of these out of the Country ; who, finding shelter in *Polonia*, and *Prussia*, there planted and

and propagated their form, till the troubles of our time ; when, by the Emperours victory in *Bohemia*, and the late troubles in *Poland*, they seem to bee at a low ebbe, though they impute it to the decay of their first discipline.

They that would reform the Church of *Englaud*, professing already that Reformation which it found best, will they not first show us reason, why wee are to leave *Luther* for *Calvine*? For, if they mean his form, when they talk of conforming us to the reformed Churches, because of the Scots Presbyteries, they must have better arguments, then either the learning or the Christianity of the Scottish Presbyterians will yield, to perswade us. They say, those that framed the Reformation in *England*, being bred under *Melancthon* among the *Lutherans*, followed them much an end in the order and form which they prescribed. But is that any reason for any change, before it appear which is in the right ? I freely profess I find *Melancthon* the better learned, and the more Christian spirit. But the Church of *England*, which in divers points differeth from both, why should it bee thought to follow either, for any reason, but, as either agrees with the Catholick Church ? And for that I prefer the Unity of *Bohemia* before both ; For, they had the rule of *Vincenius* given them, to take their measure by the consent of the Catholick Church, and those things which have always and every where been professed and practised in it : And, had they done nothing but what is justifiable by that Rule, I should not blame them for that which I blame in them most. But where they agree not with *Luther* and *Calvine*, wherein do they not agree with the Church of *England* ?

In particular, they sent all over the World, to inform themselves of a visible succession of Bishops, whose profession was such, that they might derive the Ordination of Bishops, for their Churches, from their hands. They took the superstitions of the Greeks to bee such, that they could not own it from them. In that I think they were in the wrong. For, I doubt not, the Greeks would have granted them Ordination only under the profession of the Catholick Church ; and that had been enough. But, thinking themselves in a strait of necessity, they chose twelve by lots ; And hearing that the *Waldenses* lived in *Austria* under Bishops, deriving their succession from the time of *Constantine* ; (and therefore from the Apostles) they sent them thither to bee

Ordained, protesting against their weakness, in going to Mass for fear. The protestation was admitted, and the persons ordained Bishops. Now, I take not upon me to maintain the truth of that information, concerning the succession of these Bishops, whereupon they proceeded. But, they being reasonably perswaded of it, and not knowing how to proceed otherwise, (through a mistake or an exigent, which they could not overcome) and settling themselves upon an innocent presumption; why should the effect of these Ordinations seem questionable? For, under these Bishops they have subsisted from that day to this.

And, with what conscience is it demanded, for conformity to the Reformation, that wee acknowledge them Priests who are ordained against Bishops? If wee do not, wee shall condemn those Reformed Churches, which have no Bishops. Is it the fashion, that a man quit his cloke, because his fellow hath none? Or is it any thing else, to renounce a good Title, because they cannot plead it? There was a good expedient in the antient Church, to refer things to God, which could not bee decided without a breach in the Church. Let their zeal against the abuses of the Church of *Rome* bee counted pardonable with God, which caused them to think the Order of Bishops a support of Antichrist; when as the Papacy is visibly raised upon the rights of Bishops which it ingrosseth. Let the difficulty of procuring Ordinations, and having Bishops, render them excusable to God. Those that are ordained by Presbyters against Bishops, on purpose to set up Altar against Altar, how can wee count them ordained, refusing the concurrence of the Church to their Ordinations? They that would tye us to comply with the Reformation, are first to show us, that the Unity of *Böhemia* is no part of it; And, that their Reformation is not to bee preferred, either before that of *Luther*, or that of *Calvyn*. For, can wee acknowledge the Ordinations of Presbyters against their Bishops, and not condemn them, that sought all over the World for Bishops to ordain them Bishops, that the Bishops so ordained might ordain them Presbyters?

But, not only in this prime point of our differences, but also in the difference of the Clergy from the people, in the three Orders, of Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons, in the matter of Justification and the *Eucharist*, of Confirmation, and

Penance

Penance, of the Festivals and Fasts of the Church, and of divers Orders and institutions of less consequence, their profession agreeth with the antient Church, and the Church of England, where it departeth from both *Luther* and *Calvine*. In the mater of Penance (though with much humility) they tell the *Lutherans* roundly, they have but one of the Keyes, viz. that of loosing, but bind not; as pronouncing absolution without injoining of Penance. The discipline of *Geneva* they magnifie indeed, as they find it described by *Bodine*, in his method of Histories; But they distinguish not, whether they mean the civil discipline, which the Laws of that State inforce, or that which the Power of the Keys, exercised there according to *Calvine*, doth constitute. For, the Civil Law of a Christian State (especially, no bigger then that of *Geneva*) may settle such a discipline over the outward man, as may restrain from the outward act of sin, without mortifying the inward man to the inward love of God. The late Usurpers Army wee have seen well disciplined, against the ordinary vices of the Camp; Who, appearing now to have been then enemies to their Country, are thereby discovered not to have followed the reward of Christians, but of Souldiers. And the Laws of Christian States, by the means of Christianity which they maintain, may reach to the mortifying of sin, and the quickning of righteousness at the heart; But of themselves, being Civil Laws, and proposing no further reward or punishment, then that good which a mans Country signifies, they reach no further then the outward man, for the better or for the worse. Nor is it of any greater consequence to Christianity, that the outward act of sin or virtue is repressed or encouraged, by the rewards and penalties of Civil Law. But, when the discipline of the Church takes place, hee who forfeiteth his Christianity by gros sin that is notorious, forfeiteth also Communion with the Church; and recovereth it not, till the presumption bee no les notorious, that hee hath recovered his Christianity. Now, Communion with the Church is the consequence of our Baptisme, which intitleth us to life everlasting. Therefore it is not duly forfeited, without forfeiting the effect of Baptisme, our right to life everlasting. So, our right to heaven depending upon the Communion of the Church; the discipline of the Church must needs reach the inward

inward man as effectually, as any outward application can reach the heart, which is invisible. For, the presumption is grounded upon visible works of Penance; the effects of that invisible disposition; without which they could not bee constantly brought forth. Whether or no this discipline bee visible at *Geneva*; I will not pronounce. This I undertake, that, comparing the Doctrine of *Calvine* with their Orders; they need not set a value upon the Power of the Keys exercised according to his Doctrine, in comparison of the same exercised according to their own Orders. So that supposing, not granting, that the Laws of the Church of *England*, (being the Laws of the primitive Catholick Church) are to bee changed for conformity with the Reformed Churches; it followeth not therefore, that they are to bee changed, for those of the Churches reformed according to *Calvine*. Certainly, the receiving of the Communion kneeling having been one of the Orders of their Reformation from the beginning, and so stily insisted upon by them in *Poland*; they that pretend to change the Law of *England* in that point, for conformity with the Reformation, think they have not men but beasts to deal with.

The Church of *England*, in the *Commination against sinners*, hath declared a great zeal for the renewing of that antient discipline of Penance, which was in force in the primitive Church. And certainly, the Church of *England* is not the Church of *England* but in Name, till the power of Excommunication bee restored unto it, which there was not, nor ever can bee sufficient cause to take from any Church. But, the discipline of Penance, though depending upon the Power of Excommunication, is as much to bee preferred before it, as it is more desirable to bring men to the Church, then to shut them out of it. If prejudice and faction have not more to do in the pretenses of this time, then the truth of Christianity, and zeal to advance it; it is a point that cannot bee neglected in any deliberation of Reforming the Church. I cannot render a more visible reason, why so godly a zeal, in those that first prescribed our Reformation, to the restoring of Penance, hath not been improved by their successors; then the partialities which sprung up in it like tares in the wheat, and have now prevailed to choke even the power of Excommunication, wherein the being of a Church consisteth. And though many finnes

finnes of this Nation may bee alleged, for the cause why God hath taken this sharp revenge upon us; yet can no reaon bee so proper, why hee should permit the hedge of the Church to bee cast down, (for all Sects to devour, and tread his Vine-yard under foot) by suffering the power of Excommunication to bee taken from it ; as the neglect of improving it, in and to the discipline of Penance. True it is, not only all capital, but all infamous crimes, whereof men are convicted by Law, are thereby notorious, and require this discipline, no less then those which the Law of this Land punisheth not otherwise then by Penance. And if the Church did make a difference among those that dye by publick Justice; owning only those, who approve their desire to undergo regular Penance, in case they might survive ; then were this discipline visible , no visible crime escaping it. For, all capitall and infamous crimes, that are not actually punished with death , must by that reason remain unreconciled to the Church ; though free of the Law ; till Penance bee done. And seeing crimes that are not known cannot bee cured upon easier terms then those that are ; would not the judgement of the Law, authorizing the Church in the cure of known sins, move even them that believe their Christianity , no further then it is authorized by Law, to submit invisible finnes to the same cure ? For, what is it , but the slighting of this cure , that makes mens finnes fester and rankle inwardly, and break out into greater and greater excesses ? And therefore, to debate of Ceremonies, and words in the service, and May-poles, and Sabbath days journeyes , not considering the Power of the Keyes, upon which the Church is founded, and the restoring of the same ; is to neglect a consumption at the heart, pretending only to cure the hair, or the nails.

Now if any of our Sects insist upon a pretense that deserves to bee insisted upon, far bee it from us to cast off the consideration of it , because they have unduely separated from the Church for it. Our *Anabaptists*, it is known, insist upon two points ; The baptizing of Infants ; and that, by sprinkling, not by dipping. In both, they have neglected St. Peters Doctrine ; That *Baptisme saveth us, not the laying aside of the filth of our flesh, but the answer of a good conscience to God.* For, were the profession of Christianity, celebrated

lebrated by the Sacrement of Baptisme, believed to bee that which saveth us, men would not go to baptize them, as not baptized, who by their profession (which they acknowledge by seeking the Communion of the Church) are under that bond, which intitleth them to the Salvation of Christians. Nor can there bee any greater presumption, then the voiding of Baptisme so celebrated, that they expect Salvation upon other terms. But, in making void Baptisme ministred by sprinkling alone, without dipping, they neglect St. Peter again; when hee maketh the Baptisme that saveth not to consist in cleansing the flesh, but in a due profession of Christianity; signifying this to bee the principal, that onely the accessory Ceremony, which it is solemnized with. And therefore, they are to acknowledge this difference, by acknowledging Baptisme so ministred to bee good and valid, not void. But, this being acknowledged, well may they insist, that it is unduely ministred. For it is evident, that neither the Scripture, nor the practise of the whole Church, can by any means allow the sprinkling of water for Baptisme; though the pouring on of water, in case of necessity, bee allowed. Nor doth the Law of the Church of England allow any more then *pouring water upon a Child that is weak*, commanding therefore *dipping* otherwise. And therefore this Law, being much weakened by the tenderness of Mothers and Friends, (supposing all Infants weak; which the Law supposeth not) and by undue zeal for Forreign Fashions, ought to bee revived and brought into use by all Ordinaries, that there may remain no colour for such an offence. And therefore, reparation is to bee made for the sacrilege of the late Wars, in destroying the Fonts of Baptisme in Churches, and bringing In Christening out of *Basins* by force.

I cannot say that I have touched all that is fit to bee touched. But I hope I have said nothing, but that which followeth upon the ground, which I have justified. That which is proposed, and is not so justified, seems to demand the consent of those who propose it, as able to hold the Church divided, if they bee not contented; But that calls to mind a reason on the other side, that men use to get a stomach with eating, in such cases. The due measure is not the satisfying of mens appetites, but the improvement of our common Christianity.

Faults Escaped, thus Amended.

Pag. 7. line 2. mistakes.
p. 40. l. 32. none
p. 49. l. 16. Church,
p. 60. l. 36. Lawes
p. 79. l. 14. of the Judgement.
p. 84. l. 34. Trihes
p. 90. l. 10. Prædestinarians.
 l. 12. West,
p. 108. l. 33. Bishop ; Priest
 and Deacon,
p. 112. l. 14. Service ;
p. 134. l. 12. all these
p. 143. l. 34. he performing
p. 145. l. 15. Hierarchy
p. 157. l. 24. prescribed
 l. 29,30. the the Power
p. 158. l. 6. Memorial
p. 173. l. 37. Order
p. 179. l. 29. leave
p. 189. l. 31. which
p. 201. l. 25. Church,

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